

# Covert Action

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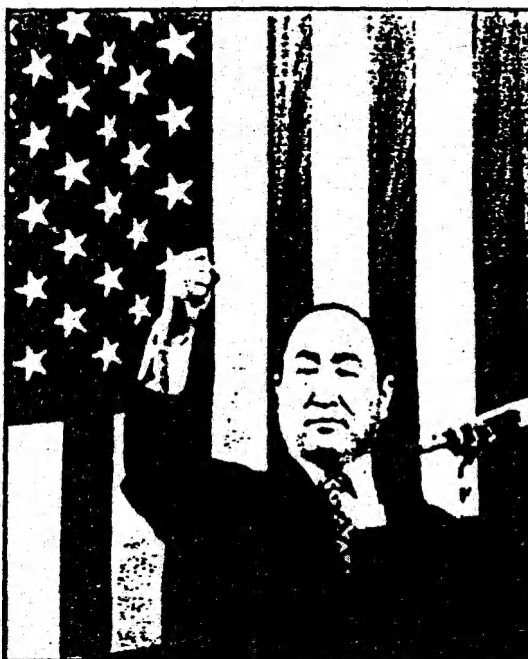


# Rev. Moon Goes to College

Daniel Junas

On Labor Day weekend in 1984, 240 academics from 46 countries gathered in Washington D.C. under the auspices of the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences (ICUS), a front organization of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church. The *Washington Post* portrayed this remarkable scholarly conference as part of an expensive effort by Moon to cleanse his tainted image.<sup>2</sup> Ever since Moon achieved notoriety in the 1970s, the media have tended to portray him as a kooky cult leader whose aspirations for political power are not to be taken seriously.

By interpreting the conference and the Moon Organization's<sup>3</sup> efforts to court academia simply as a PR ploy, the *Post* (which, is the journalistic rival of the Moon-funded *Washington Times*) underestimated the sophistication of Moon's strategy. Since its inception, Moon has provided an important link between academia, intelligence agencies, and the political Right. Gaining legitimacy and influence within the academic establishment and having access to its resources have long been central to Moon's mission.



CAUSA  
"The policy-makers in the background are the professors. Even though they represent the cultural field, more than anything we need scholars in the scientific fields, in the political, cultural, and economic fields." Rev. Moon

In 1954, when the Rev. Moon founded the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity in Seoul, he immediately began proselytizing on college campuses.<sup>4</sup> His first political mission in Japan was in 1960 during the massive student-led protests objecting to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. From that point, with the backing of certain elements of the Japanese Right, Moon worked to build a right-wing student movement. For the next decade and a half, the Moon Organization used this network to respond to similar threats to U.S. foreign policy objectives emanating from student-led protests in South Korea and the United States.

Moon's academic operations reflect both his extensive Japanese backing and his alliance with the U.S. foreign policy establishment, including a longstanding and complex relationship with the CIA and its South Korean offspring, the KCIA. The International Cultural

Foundation (ICF), the umbrella for Moon's various academic fronts, was founded in Japan in 1968. The ICF's political arm, the Professors World Peace Academy (PWPA) was founded five years later, and one of its first projects was a study of Japanese national goals. But PWPA also provided Moon, in collaboration with ex-CIA official Ray Cline, with a vehicle to extend Moon operations into Africa, and to exhort African academics to support the U.S. intelligence community.

The Moon Organization must be seen, therefore, not as an independent entity, but as an extension of the national security state and as a mechanism for linking its proponents around the world. Moon's academic connections are inextricably linked to this agenda, and despite the religious trappings, Moon on campus is the political and moral equivalent of the CIA on campus.

Daniel Junas is a researcher living in Seattle, Washington. He is currently writing a book on the Moon Organization to be published next year by Political Research Associates.

1. "Investigation of Korean-American Relations, Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations" (hereafter IKAR), U.S. House of Representatives, October 31, 1978; Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1049.

2. Isikoff, Michael, *Washington Post*, "Moon Spends Millions to Boost Image," September 17, 1984, p. A1.

3. "Although there is no entity named the 'Moon Organization,' according to the investigation by IKAR, 'the numerous churches, businesses, committees, foundations, and other groups associated with Sun Myung Moon, emerged as parts of what is essentially one worldwide organization under the centralized organization and control of Moon...The subcommittee came to view them as one unit and refers to them in the aggregate as the Moon Organization.'" IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

4. IKAR Appendix, Vol. II; *op. cit.*, p. 1293.

## Japanese Origins

In 1955, one year after its founding in South Korea, Moon's church was rocked by a sex scandal, prompting Moon to seek powerful allies.<sup>5</sup> Moon began recruiting South Korean military officers, who later provided important links between the Moon Organization and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

Meanwhile, in 1958, Moon's first missionary travelled to Japan, where he later made contact with Ryoichi Sasakawa, a powerful "godfather" of the Japanese Right.<sup>6</sup> Before World War II, Sasakawa had been a prominent fascist organizer; after the war, he was imprisoned by the U.S. Occupation authorities as a suspected Class A war criminal. While in Sugamo Prison, he struck an alliance with two other war crimes suspects—his old comrade-in-arms Yoshio Kodama, and Nobutsuke Kishi, who served in Prime Minister Tojo's wartime cabinet.

In December 1948, this trio was released without trial, leading many to believe that a deal had been struck with the U.S. Occupation authorities.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, soon after his release, Kodama went to work for U.S. intelligence, and in 1958 he was placed on the CIA's payroll.<sup>8</sup>

When Kishi was elected Prime Minister in 1957, his top priority was negotiating a revised Security Treaty with the U.S. Approved by the Japanese Diet under duress in 1951 at the end of the Occupation, this agreement seriously undermined Japanese sovereignty. Kishi, a close ally of the U.S., sought to remove only the most blatantly objectionable provisions, such as permitting the U.S. to intervene in domestic disturbances at the invitation of the Japanese government. He anticipated stiff resistance to the agreement, however, from the communist-dominated Japanese student movement, which, along with a majority of the Japanese people, objected to the suspected presence of nuclear weapons at U.S. bases in Japan, and to the rearmament of Japan then taking place under the political cover of the treaty.<sup>9</sup> In preparation, Kishi called on his ally Kodama to assemble a repressive force consisting of rightists and *yakuza*, the Japanese organized crime syndicates.

5. *Op. cit.*, IKAR, Appendix, p. 1170.

6. John Roberts, "Happiness Ginseng from Earth-Conquering Moonies," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 23, 1978, pp. 57-60.

7. This pattern was a familiar one in the wake of World War II. Placing its highest priority on eliminating anti-fascist resistance movements—often dominated by left and communist elements—U.S. postwar planners threw their support behind the same fascist leaders they had so recently fought. In Italy, Germany and France, as well as in Japan, war criminals, fascists, nazis, and collaborators were recruited to battle the "international communist menace" and support U.S. interests.

8. The single best source on the postwar careers of Sasakawa, Kodama, and Kishi is David E. Kaplan and Alec Dubro, *Yakuza* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 63-69 and 78-83.

9. Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 201-2. See also: George R. Packard, III, *Protest in Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966).



Associated Press  
Japanese protest U.S.-Japan treaty. Banner reads: Reject the Road to War! Down With Japanese Imperialism! Let's Fight Together! 1988.

In 1960, when Kishi rammed the treaty through the Diet, enormous street demonstrations erupted. Despite Kishi's preparations, President Eisenhower was forced to cancel a visit to Tokyo commemorating the passage of the treaty and Kishi stepped down as Prime Minister.<sup>10</sup> The treaty, however, remained and sealed an economic as well as military alliance.

## Building the Student Right

The treaty struggle, which marked a watershed in the U.S.-Japan relationship, represents the true founding moment of the Moon Organization as a political entity. Moon's first missionary had founded the Japanese Unification Church—known as *Genri Undo*—on the eve of the treaty struggle, and by some accounts, Moon himself served as a go-between among competing right-wing factions during preparations for the demonstrations.<sup>11</sup> In 1960, Moon also adopted anticommunism,<sup>12</sup> as he adjusted his ideology to suit the political needs of his new Japanese allies.

In the wake of the treaty struggle, Kishi and Sasakawa were working together to organize numerous student organizations.<sup>13</sup> These efforts followed the outlines of a comprehensive strategy devised by right-wing academic Juitsu Kitaoka to build a right-wing student movement and rid Japanese campuses of Marxist influences.<sup>14</sup> *Genri Undo* became an essential part of this strategy. A decisive moment came in late 1962, when Osami Kuboki, a leader in Kishi/Sasakawa student fronts, apparently engineered the conversion of 50 leaders of a Buddhist sect to *Genri Undo*.<sup>15</sup> Also in 1962 Moon's

10. Kaplan and Dubro, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-7.

11. Roberts, *op. cit.*

12. IKAR, Appendix, Volume II, *op. cit.*, p. 1030.

13. Hayashi Masayuki, "OSCA," AMPO, Vol. 19, No. 1, p. 2, et seq.

14. Ivan I. Morris, *Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: A Study of Post-War Trends* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 285-88.

15. Jeffrey M. Bale, "Privatizing Covert Action: The Case of the Unification Church," *Lobster* (Hull, UK), #21.





Wide World Photos

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), left, Juanita Castro (Fidel Castro's sister), and Ryoichi Sasakawa, then-president of the World Anti-Communist League, after a WACL rally in Tokyo.

primary student front, the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (CARP), was founded.<sup>16</sup> Kitaoka subsequently became a key official in Moon's Japanese operations, while Kishi became a front man and Sasakawa a behind-the-scenes patron.<sup>17</sup> Despite Moon's Korean origins and his links to the South Korean military and intelligence, he essentially became a tool of his Japanese backers.<sup>18</sup>

Since these figures were closely allied with the United States, it seems likely—despite lack of hard evidence—that the CIA had a hand in developing the Unification Church. Kodama, who was also active in right-wing student politics, was both a CIA asset and an ally of Kishi and Sasakawa. Dampening the influence of the Japanese Left was part of the CIA's mission in Japan at that time. Then Japan-based CIA officer Donald Gregg was part of these efforts.<sup>19</sup>

Further evidence that Moon was linked to the CIA can be found in South Korea. In 1961, a CIA-backed coup brought to power that nation's first pro-Japanese government since the end of World War II.<sup>20</sup> The architect of the coup, Kim Jong Pil, established the CIA-founded<sup>21</sup> Korean Central In-

telligence Agency (KCIA) shortly thereafter. Kim also turned to the Japanese as a source of political funds. Kodama provided a back channel and Kishi masterminded the negotiations, which aimed to normalize relations between former enemies Korea and Japan.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, Kim was also establishing close ties with the Unification Church.<sup>23</sup>

When, at the urging of the U.S., Japan and South Korea finally normalized relations in 1965, student-led protests erupted in South Korea. The following year the South Korean chapter of CARP was founded.<sup>24</sup>

The new relationship between South Korea and Japan was also closely linked to the then-escalating Vietnam War. President Johnson had persuaded South Korea to provide troops to the war effort, while Japan began assuming part of the U.S.'s foreign aid burden for South Korea, leading to the creation of a strategic U.S.-Japan-South Korea triangle.<sup>25</sup>

This arrangement dovetailed with Kishi's agenda. As *eminent* grise of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, he controlled Japan's foreign aid programs, and he used his leverage to make South Korea his economic "territory."<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the Vietnam War proved extremely lucrative to Kishi's corporate allies, who helped supply the war effort.<sup>27</sup>

Once again, however, this strategy was threatened by a student-led protest movement, this time in the U.S. And once again, the Moon Organization sought to build a right-wing student movement as a counterweight to the Left.

### Counteracting the Student Left

Although Moon had begun sending his missionaries to the U.S. and a smattering of other locales in 1959, their influence and numbers were very limited. In 1965, however, he prepared for expansion by touring the world and dedicating holy grounds throughout the U.S., Europe, the Middle East and Asia. At the same time, Moon was undertaking an alliance with the nascent World Anti-Communist League—an international conglomeration of hardline conservatives, fascists and anti-semites—enabling him to establish links with right-ists in the U.S. and around the world.<sup>28</sup> WACL grew out of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, which had been founded by Taiwan and South Korea in 1954. Two key behind-the-scenes players in WACL were Moon's patron Sasakawa, and Ray Cline, who was CIA chief of station in Taiwan from 1958 to 1962 when plans were laid for WACL, and who was later associated with the Moon Organization as well.

16. *Op. cit.*, IKAR, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1297.

17. Roberts, *op. cit.*

18. For a more detailed investigation see: Daniel Junas, "Rising Moon: The Unification Church's Japan Connection" (Institute for Global Security Studies, Seattle, 1989).

19. Gregg served in Japan from 1953-63. Steve McGuire, *CounterSpy*, December 1976, p. 34. He was Vice President George Bush's national security adviser and an important player in the Iran-contra affair. Now U.S. ambassador to South Korea, he is under investigation by Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh for his alleged role in the 1980 "October Surprise."

20. From before World War I to 1945, Japan had occupied Korea and imposed brutal military dictatorship during which even speaking the Korean language was a capital crime. Enmity of Koreans for Japan ran deep, as did Japanese prejudice against Koreans. U.S. political, economic, and military domination of the region, as well as the convergence of interests among elites, was even stronger than the animosity.

21. "It was the U.S. CIA which helped to set up the KCIA, thereby providing to the diffuse authoritarianism of the Rhee regime (1948-1960) an organizational weapon which has kept Park in power through 18 years of Korean dissent and upheaval." (*Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, June 1977, Vol. 9, Number II, p. 2.)

22. Jounghwon Kim, *Divided Korea: Politics of Development, 1945-1972* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1975), p. 241; Takano Hajime, "Kishi: Scavenger in the Shadows, Kingpin of the Japanese Right," *AMPO*, Vol. 1, p. 18.

23. *IKAR, op. cit.*, pp. 354-5.

24. *IKAR, op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1297.

25. *IKAR, op. cit.*, p. 26.

26. Hajime, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

27. Jon Halliday and Gavan McCormack, *Japanese Imperialism Today* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp. 107-8, and Hajime, *op. cit.*

28. On Sasakawa and WACL, see: Roberts, *op. cit.*; also Roberts, "Ryoichi Sasakawa: Nippon's right-wing muscleman," *Insight*, April 1978, p. 8, *et seq.* On Cline and WACL, see: Jon Lee Anderson and Scott Anderson, *Inside the League* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986), p. 55.

The Moon Organization's involvement with WACL was closely linked to its student and academic operations. Kitaoaka was a member of the Japanese delegation at WACL's founding conference in Taiwan.<sup>29</sup> Also in 1967, a secret meeting was held to plan the Japanese chapter of WACL, the International Federation for Victory Over Communism (IFVOC). The participants included Kodama, Sasakawa, Moon and Kuboki, who became a key official of the IFVOC and the International Cultural Foundation (ICF) (the umbrella for Moon's various academic fronts), which were both founded in Japan in 1968.<sup>30</sup>

A similar leadership pattern prevailed in the U.S., where the IFVOC was known as the Freedom Leadership Foundation (FLF). When the U.S. WACL chapter, the American Council for World Freedom (ACWF), was founded in 1970, FLF leader Neil Salonen held a seat on the board, and when ICF was incorporated in New York in 1973, Salonen became its president.<sup>31</sup>

The FLF had been formed in August 1969, the month after President Nixon announced his Nixon Doctrine.<sup>32</sup> Student-led protests—along with the financial cost of the war—had forced Nixon to retrench the United States's commitment to Asia. According to his new policy, Asians would have to fight their own wars, although the U.S. would continue to provide material support. FLF's response was to lobby for the hawk position on Vietnam, and to work to undermine the student anti-war movement on college campuses.

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**"Father [Moon] said that college campuses are a major battlefield, and if we win there we will definitely win America."**

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Such efforts were welcomed by the Nixon White House, which by 1970 was providing money to Moon operatives from a secret slush fund to support student activities.<sup>33</sup> FLF continued building a right-wing student movement throughout the early 1970s, when Moon was also encouraging his followers to make friends in the FBI and CIA.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1970s Moon's designs were frustrated by the storm of negative publicity that battered his cult. But when the Reagan administration came to power, both WACL and the

Moon Organization became partners in the aggressive foreign and military policy known as the Reagan Doctrine, which sought to roll back the Soviet empire, and support such anti-communist "freedom fighters" as the Nicaraguan contras<sup>35</sup> and UNITA in Angola.

Meanwhile, the U.S. branch of CARP, which Moon had founded in 1973, moved swiftly to counteract the student Left. In the early 1980s, CARP conducted a smear campaign against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, accusing it of "Marxist ties."<sup>36</sup> More importantly, CARP aided the FBI's illegal investigation of CISPES by spying on the solidarity organization and providing information on CISPES' campus activities to the Bureau.<sup>37</sup> In 1980, Moon also created his transnational political front, CAUSA.



Associated Press  
Yoshio Kodama, early Moon ally

### Creating the New World Culture

Counteracting the student left is only one side of Moon's academic intrigue. The other is gaining access to professors and their research, winning them over to Moon's political agenda, and using them to influence policy. The patina of legitimacy provided by these academic connections also provides a useful byproduct to the Moon Organization.

One of the earliest and most important ICF fronts was the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences (ICUS), which has sponsored lavish, all-expense-paid academic conferences annually since 1972.<sup>38</sup> These conferences, however, are not simply benign gatherings devoted to interdisciplinary discussions. Nor are the lavish grants and awards Moon dispenses to favored academics, or the opportunity to be published by his Paragon House press, merely impartial efforts to advance knowledge and promote international co-operation.<sup>39</sup> Moon is using these academics in pursuit of his ultimate goal: the creation of a global, transnational, theocratic state to be controlled by Moon and his devotees.

35. CAUSA, created in 1980, was Moon's main vehicle for political and material support for the contras. (See *CAIB*, Number 22, pp. 31-33.)

36. Leaflet, undated, CARP, Seattle, Washington.

37. *Washington Post*, Associated Press, "Moon Group Told FBI About Activists," April 23, 1988.

38. Russ Bellant, "Rev. Moon's Search for Scholars," *Texas Observer*, January 24, 1986, pp. 11-12.

39. Karl Pribram, a professor of neuroscience at Stanford University, who is on the board of both Paragon House and PWWA received a \$50,000 grant to study "the relationship between modern warfare and the establishment of social dominance hierarchies." Eugene Wigner, who won the 1963 Nobel Prize in physics, was given an ICF Founder's (i.e. Rev. Moon's) Award of \$200,000.

29. "Proceedings: The First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League," September 25-29, 1967, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, p. 4.

30. Anderson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 69; IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

31. Anderson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 85; IKAR, *ibid.*

32. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1296.

33. Alan Tate Wood, *Moonstruck* (New York: William Morrow, 1979), p. 81 *et. seq.*

34. Alan Tate Wood, "Ex-Members Against Moon," Press Conference, Washington, D.C., November 15, 1979, p. 3.



In a 1973 speech to his closest followers,<sup>40</sup> Moon laid out the special role he envisioned for academics. ICUS, he said, was to develop a philosophy, based on his own religious teachings, known as "Unified Thought," which would "win over any ideology or ism in the world."<sup>41</sup> Speaking to the 14th annual ICUS conference in 1985 in Houston, Moon himself asked the attending scientists and philosophers to "create the new world culture which must be established at any cost."<sup>42</sup> The professors "were charged...with finding a new basis to 'guide' cultural transformation, [as well as developing] ways for ICUS to increase its campus influence."<sup>43</sup> When an ICUS official was asked how the Houston conference's work would be taken advantage of, he said "we have our spies in each of the committees."<sup>44</sup> The Moon Organization apparently uses ICUS to cast a wide net, and then determines which academics it wishes to court.

At a July 1990 symposium in Tokyo, for instance, lectures on Unification Thought were presented to six chairmen and former chairmen of ICUS committees, as well as to other scholars who attended previous symposia.<sup>45</sup>

### Moon's Academy

While ICUS concerns itself with scientific, philosophical and cultural issues, the Professors World Peace Academy is the division of ICF most directly connected to the Moon Organization's political objectives. As Moon made clear to his own followers, he sought to use professors "to direct the world policies toward the same goals."<sup>46</sup>

Like the IFVOC and CARP, PWPA was grounded in the U.S.-Japan-South Korea triangle. Initiated in Seoul, one of its first ventures was its "National Goals project for the study of Japan's strategy in the 1980s."<sup>47</sup> At the same time, PWPA was also making plans for the United States. In May 1974 an internal Moon Organization publication reported:

Father [Moon] wants to mobilize 20 or 30 of the Korean professors to influence American academia, both professors and students. Because of this, Father stressed the importance of building up CARP...to serve as the foundation for their work when they arrive. Father said that college campuses are a major battlefield, and if we win there we will definitely win America.<sup>48</sup>

The U.S. Division of PWPA was established in 1979 and was headed by Morton Kaplan, a professor of International Relations and director of the conservative Center for Strategic

and Foreign Policy Studies at the University of Chicago. Kaplan, who has called Moon the greatest religious figure of all time,<sup>49</sup> also chaired ICUS's Change and Development Committee, and four ICUS meetings, from 1980 to 1983.<sup>50</sup> Kaplan is also associated with Moon's D.C.-based think tank, the Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy.<sup>51</sup>

One of PWPA's projects was forging a relationship with the government of South Africa, which was the topic of PWPA's first U.S. conference in May 1979 held in New York. Then in June 1981 in Athens, Greece, Morton Kaplan moderated a small, private conference convened by PWPA for South African government officials and representatives of all South African racial groups--excluding, of course, the then-outlawed African National Congress. According to a U.S. State Department cable, South Africans attending the session included the Chief Constitutional Planner in the office of the Prime Minister, other government representatives, officials of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha, and various social and political leaders. A public controversy erupted in Athens when the Unification Church's sponsorship of the conference was revealed. One of the participants said afterward that, "it was extremely unfortunate that the publicity surrounding the Moonie connection had cast a shadow on what had been extremely useful and productive conversations on South Africa's future constitutional arrangements."<sup>52</sup>

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## The Moon Organization uses ICUS to cast a wide net, and then determines which academics it wishes to court.

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At the same time PWPA was establishing a secret relationship with South Africa, it was also cultivating African academics. In November 1981 the Moon Organization flew academics from 20 African nations, along with several African academics living in the U.S., to an ICUS conference in South Korea. During this same period, PWPA also founded its African branch. Since PWPA sought to attract a large African following, it downplayed its ties to South Africa.<sup>53</sup> PWPA apparently felt no compunction, however, about revealing its support for U.S. foreign policy. Addressing the U.S. PWPA

40. IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

41. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1047.

42. Bellant, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

45. Paul J. Perry, "ICUS Professors Discuss Unification Thought," *Unification News*, September 1990, p. 17.

46. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1049.

47. International Cultural Foundation brochure, undated, c. 1975. *op. cit.*, Roberts, p. 59.

48. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1291.

49. Bellant, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Salonen became PWPA-USA head this summer.

50. Department of State Telegram, R 1013422, August 1980, From Secretary of State to: American Consulate, Johannesburg, Subject: Professors World Peace Academy.

51. Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy brochure, undated, c. 1983-84.

52. Department of State Telegram, R 151510Z, June 1981, from: American Embassy, Pretoria, to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., Subject: South Africa, Unification Church Connection Alleged to Athens Conference on South African Politics.

53. "Moonies over Africa," *Africa Now*, January 1983, p. 64, *et seq.*

gathering in 1981, former CIA official Ray Cline said, "I'm annoyed at you, academics—you have to give more support to the intelligence community."<sup>54</sup>

When some of the Africans present said it would taint their credibility in Africa to be associated with the CIA, Cline replied that "it's only people who are not allied with the U.S. who talk like that."<sup>55</sup>

Cline currently serves on the Executive Advisory Board of *The World & I*, a telephone-book sized glossy magazine published by Moon's News World Communications. The magazine's Editor and Publisher is Morton Kaplan, and its Advisory Boards are composed of over 100 scholars from nearly as many nations, including national representatives of Professors World Peace Academy chapters.<sup>56</sup> U.S. members include Richard Rubenstein (Florida State University), Nicholas Kittrie (American University), S. Fred Singer (University of Virginia), Lee Congdon (James Madison University), and Baroness Garnett Stackelberg (unaffiliated).

### Penetrating the Communist World

One of the apparent purposes of PWPA is to provide the leaders of the Moon Organization with information and analysis about international political developments. Thus while the Moon Organization was an active partner in the Reagan Doctrine, seeking to roll back the Soviet empire, PWPA was

**"I'm annoyed at you,  
academics—you have to give  
more support to the Intelligence  
community." —Ray Cline**

preparing for the ultimate success of this policy. In August 1985, just five months after Gorbachev had taken power, PWPA held a conference in Geneva, Switzerland on "The Fall of the Soviet Empire: Prospects for Transition to a Post-Soviet World."<sup>57</sup>

When change swept through Eastern Europe in 1989, the Moon Organization moved with alacrity. Rev. Chung Hwan Kwak, a top Moon aide and an ICF official, travelled through Eastern Europe in October 1989 to make contacts among professors and religious leaders.<sup>58</sup> He also organized an Introductory Seminar on the Unification Movement, which was held in December 1989 in Poland and attracted 49 scholars and

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*

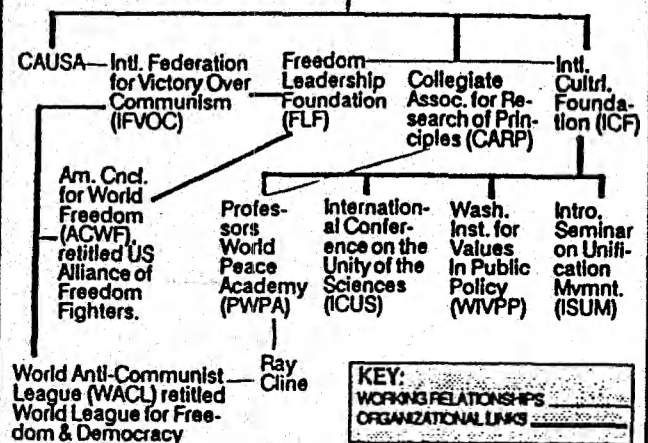
56. Masthead, *The World & I*, April 1991, p. 3.

57. *Orbis*, Spring 1989, pp. 305-6; Book Review of *The Soviet Union and the Challenge of the Future*, Alexander Stromas and Morton A. Kaplan (no author listed for review).

58. Gordon L. Anderson, "Teaching Unificationism in Poland," *Unification News*, January 1990, p. 5.

## Moon Organization Academic Network

Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSA-UWC) (Unification Church)



religious leaders from Poland, the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and East Germany.<sup>59</sup>

PWPA soon established a foothold in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. PWPA chapters were officially registered in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.; a PWPA office was opened in Hungary; and PWPA meetings were held in all those countries and in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.<sup>60</sup> In September 1990, PWPA held an international meeting in Poland on "The Historical Dimension of Transformation in Eastern Europe."<sup>61</sup> At the same time, the Unification Church began bringing Soviet students to the U.S. under the auspices of both its International Leadership Conference and CARP.<sup>62</sup>

Given Moon's vigorous support for the Reagan Doctrine, it appears likely that these operations reflect a second stage in the implementation of that Doctrine. Now that political, social, cultural, and economic changes are sweeping through the formerly communist bloc nations, the Moon Organization is clearly using its academic fronts to influence the direction of those changes, just as it did previously in Japan, South Korea, the United States, Africa and elsewhere. And given the Moon Organization's longstanding alliance with the CIA, it also appears likely that these operations are being undertaken in conjunction with the Agency. Moon's reach, stretched with the help of his allies in the national security state, is becoming global.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Gordon L. Anderson, "Bringing Unificationism to Eastern Europe," *Unification News*, April 1990, p. 14; Gordon L. Anderson, "PWPA Opens a Chapter in Moscow," *Unification News*, May 1990, p. 6a.

61. Gordon L. Anderson, "Building Unity in Eastern Europe," *Unification News*, February 1991, p. 12.

62. Jack Corley, "Soviet Student International Leadership Conference," *Unification News*, October 1990, p. 12; Felicity Barringer, "New Flock for Moon Church: The Changing Soviet Student," *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1990 p. 1.

"The CARP movement is attracting thousands of students from all over the country," crowed the July 1991 *Unification News*. "The CARP staff members are working day and night just to keep up with the demand for lectures and information. The same is true of the Unification Church leaders and the PWPA office." (pp. 23, 35.)



## Targeting the Environmental Movement:

# Bombs, Lies and Body Wires

Johan Carlisle

- An FBI agent provocateur infiltrates an activist group and instigates members to sabotage a power line. Those involved—except the agent—are arrested and charged with terrorism. Other members are arrested for conspiracy.
- Two activists are repeatedly threatened on the phone and in person. A poster with their portraits, with the crosshairs of a rifle scope superimposed, is put on their office door. Soon after, they are seriously injured in a car bombing. The police arrest them in the hospital as prime suspects.
- A right-wing group publishes bomb-making diagrams, falsely attributes them to an activist group, and is caught planting a fake bomb at an activist's office.
- A major news service distributes an unconfirmed story based on an "ex"-CIA counter-terrorism expert's theory that activists and mad scientists are secretly plotting to unleash a virus to wipe out humanity.

In the 1960s the FBI unleashed COINTELPRO, a campaign designed to divide and destroy Black liberation and anti-Vietnam War, feminist, and other social movements of that turbulent period. At the time, the FBI program seemed like a series of unconnected incidents and anyone who had suggested a coordinated government campaign would have been dismissed as a paranoid conspiracy theorist.

Eventually, tenacious investigation uncovered hard evidence that the U.S. government used propaganda, promotion of internal splits within organizations, physical intimidation, disinformation in the media, conspiracy trials and murder to eliminate movements it considered undesirable.

The incidents above could have been taken from the files of COINTELPRO. In fact, they all happened within the last few years and were directed against the environmental movement. Increasingly, these radical (i.e., effective) organizations have been harassed, infiltrated, smeared in the media, and even threatened by assassination attempts. Increasingly, serious researchers and activists are concerned—given the similarity to the techniques employed in COINTELPRO—that there could be tolerance or coordination from above.<sup>1</sup>

The two environmental groups under the heaviest fire are Earth First! and Greenpeace. Both are outspokenly non-violent yet considered radical because they practice direct action, carry out high-profile media events and civil disobedience, and because they are affecting corporate profits with their numerous successful campaigns to halt or slow environmental destruction.

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1. See: Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: the FBI's Secret War Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1988).

### Earth First!

On the morning of May 24, 1990, Earth First! organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney were driving from Oakland to Santa Cruz, California. They planned to address a rally promoting the upcoming Redwood Summer protests against the destruction of the last remaining old growth forests in northern California. Suddenly, a pipe bomb with nails taped to it exploded directly under Bari's seat. She was severely injured and at first doctors thought she might not survive. A year later, she is still in pain, has trouble walking and cannot stand or drive for long periods of time. Doctors say she will be permanently maimed. Cherney was nearly blinded in one eye.

The attack on Bari and Cherney was the culmination of a steady build-up of death threats and confrontations in northern California. A year later Bari said:

The bombing represented the end of innocence for our movement. Sure, we had seen violence before, but this was different. The logger who broke Mem Hill's nose, the log truck driver who ran me off the road—themselves victims of the timber industry—in the heat of the moment took out their anger on us. But whoever put that bomb in my car was a cold and premeditating killer.

The FBI's attempt to frame me and Darryl...made us realize what we are up against. Not only are they willing to use lethal force to protect their 'right' to level whole ecosystems for private profit; they are also backed by the full power of the government's secret police."<sup>2</sup>

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2. Bari is a unique threat to the timber industries. She is also a Wobblie (Industrial Workers of the World) union organizer, and the first to bring timber workers and Earth Firsters together.



Although neither activist had a record of violent activities and both were ardent proponents of nonviolence, the Oakland police and the FBI immediately targeted them as the prime and to this day only suspects. Cherney was treated and released from the hospital the night of the bombing and then taken to jail. Bari was placed under arrest in her hospital bed.

A letter containing detailed information was sent to the Santa Rosa Press Democrat four days after the bombing. "The Lord's Avenger," writing in flowery, biblical prose took credit for the attack. The FBI's immediate reaction, despite lack of evidence, was to ascribe the letter to Bari (written from her hospital bed) or her accomplice. It failed to consider other suspects or follow up other explanations.

Day after day, local media dutifully reported "evidence" which the Oakland police—citing the FBI—offered as proof that the Earth Firsters had been transporting an anti-personnel bomb which allegedly detonated prematurely. Police claimed the bomb was on the floor in the back of the car when it went off and that therefore Bari and Cherney must have known about it.

Now, 16 months later, no charges have been filed. Bari and Cherney remain prime suspects despite the fact that their attorneys and investigators have developed and fed the police a number of leads which the police and FBI have apparently failed to investigate including: an alleged agent provocateur, who persuaded Bari to pose with an automatic rifle (the picture of which was later sent to the local police and was published in a local newspaper); a series of memos<sup>3</sup> from the director of public relations for Pacific Lumber Company to the company president which showed a clear pattern of approval for violence against Earth First! activists; and dozens of death threats prior to the bombing.

In May 1991, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney filed a federal lawsuit against the FBI and several law enforcement agencies seeking damages for covering up the identity of the real bomber by obstructing the investigation.<sup>4</sup>

"I don't know if the FBI had anything to do with putting that bomb in my car," said Bari in a speech at a May 5th rally, "but I know for certain that they tried to frame me for it and made sure the real bomber wasn't found. They removed my [car's] whole floorboard with a blowtorch and sent it to their crime lab in Washington, D.C., thereby destroying the evidence that would prove they were lying about the location of the bomb."

3. The memos were obtained from Pacific Lumber by Cherney's lawyers.

4. San Francisco Chronicle, May 22, 1991, p. A7.

## The Missing Link?

The FBI agent in charge of the Bari/Cherney bombing investigation is Richard W. Held, a name familiar to activists from the Black Hills of South Dakota to Puerto Rico to Los Angeles.<sup>5</sup> Held was the director of the Los Angeles COINTELPRO operations in the late 1960s, when the Bureau conducted a massive disinformation, harassment and alleged

assassination program against the Black Panthers and numerous other activist groups and individuals.<sup>6</sup>

Held was instrumental in the Los Angeles-based part of the FBI campaign which used cartoons and forged letters to create divisions in the Black Power movement.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, this national effort decimated the movement and led to the shooting death of two Panthers who believed the forgeries.

Later, from 1969-72, down Highway One in San Diego, a secretive FBI-funded right-wing paramilitary group called the Secret Army Organization (SAO) waged a vicious campaign against the underground press, Black and anti-war activists. Held was involved there as well.<sup>8</sup>

In a July 1976 press conference, Held acknowledged that he had also worked in Minneapolis where he was responsible for COINTELPRO activities during the 1960s and 1970s.

Held went on from there to the Pine Ridge, South Dakota campaign conducted by the FBI and Pentagon which re-

sulted in the death of at least 70 American Indian Movement activists, the 1975 military assault on the reservation, and the framing and jailing of Leonard Peltier.<sup>9</sup>



Associated Press  
Richard W. Held's involvement in operations targeting social change movements spans decades.

5. Richard W. Held should not be confused with former deputy to J. Edgar Hoover, Richard G. Held, his father, who retired in 1987.

6. See CAIB, Number 24, pp. 26-7 and Number 25, p. 54.

7. In December 1969, "four days after a similar raid on a Panther apartment in Chicago (a raid which left Mark Clark and Fred Hampton dead), 40 men of the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) squad, with more than a hundred regular police as backup, raided the Los Angeles Panther headquarters at 5:30 in the morning...The Panthers chose to defend themselves and for four hours they fought off police, refusing to surrender until press and the public were on the scene. Six of them were wounded. Thirteen were arrested. Miraculously, none of them were killed." (Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 82.) See also for reproduction of the cartoons: CAIB, Number 36, pp. 34-35.

8. San Diego Union, January 11, 1976; New York Times, January 11, 1976; Nanda Zuccino, "Ex-FBI Informer Describes Terrorist Role," Los Angeles Times, January 26, 1976.

9. This was one of the first-known joint military/FBI/SWAT operations in "Operation Garden Plot," the Pentagon national master plan for civil disturbance control which is still in effect. It was the product of paranoid government leaders who were convinced that widespread armed revolution was inevitable. Peltier is still in prison, sentenced to two consecutive life terms, and is considered a political prisoner by Amnesty International.

In 1978 Richard Held was transferred to Puerto Rico where as Special Agent in Charge (SAC) he oversaw a massive surveillance and counter-insurgency operation against a growing independence movement. The state police intelligence agency admitted in court that files were kept on at least 74,000 people. Over a 15 year period preceding and during Held's tenure, hundreds were attacked, bombed, and shot. Pro-independence newspapers were bombed repeatedly and activists' houses were burned to the ground. "Although rightwing organizations claimed credit for nearly 70 of these attacks, not one person has ever been arrested or brought to trial."<sup>10</sup>

According to Ward Churchill, "During the 1980s, the FALN [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña] and other pro-independence organizations have been the target of some of [the FBI's] most intense covert operations. FBI activities on the island culminated on August 30, 1985 with a massive paramilitary operation bearing a striking resemblance to the operations on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations a decade earlier. More than 300 heavily armed FBI agents and U.S. marshals participated in raids throughout Puerto Rico, kicking in doors, conducting warrantless searches, wrecking the contents of homes, impounding personal property and arresting scores of activists on 'John Doe' warrants."<sup>11</sup>

Richard W. Held was rewarded once again and became Special Agent in Charge in San Francisco where he is currently leading the investigation into the Earth First! bombing.

### The Monkeywrench Gang

Meanwhile, in Prescott, Arizona, the U.S. government is prosecuting five Earth First!ers for an alleged conspiracy to sabotage power lines, nuclear power plants, and a ski resort. Two First!ers were arrested May 1989 in the desert. A heavily-armed FBI SWAT team caught them cutting a power transmission tower. The next day, a third activist, Peg Millett, who had escaped the previous evening's bust, was arrested at work. Earth First! co-founder, David Foreman was roused out of bed in Tucson by heavily-armed FBI agents and taken to jail in Phoenix. The fourth member of the tower cutting crew was not arrested — and the Earth First!ers quickly real-

ized that their trusted comrade, Michael Fain aka Mike Tait, was an FBI agent provocateur and that he, and paid informant Ron Frazier, had set them up with the FBI.<sup>12</sup> "[Fain] was a fellow monkeywrencher," said Earth First! spokesperson Karen Pickett, "who had not only encouraged the plan but had facilitated its implementation by renting the acetylene tanks, filling his truck with gasoline and driving the crew out

to the desert where SWAT lay in wait." Fain had slowly worked his way into the activists' confidence, trying to get to Foreman, the ultimate target. Pickett said, "He was a dinner guest in their homes, he took Peg out dancing and was dating one of her closest friends. He played on their sympathies and compassion. Then he brought out the big screw."<sup>13</sup>

The FBI's real plan, behind the estimated \$2 million intelligence operation, was revealed when defense attorneys read in their opening remarks the now-famous line mistakenly recorded by Fain's body wire as he chatted with a fellow agent, unaware that he had neglected to turn off his recorder: Fain was frustrated at his inability to get Foreman to incriminate himself. "Foreman isn't the guy we need to pop. I mean, in terms of an actual perpetrator. [Foreman] is the guy we need to pop to send a message. And that's all we're really doing..." The message is the same one sent by COINTELPRO: the more effective a movement for social change, the more tenaciously it will be targeted.



Associated Press

Judi Bari, recovering from carbomb.

### The Sahara Club

In Spring 1990, as Earth First! prepared for Redwood Summer, a small group of off-road bikers launched a new organization. The Sahara Club, said founder Rick Sieman, would provide an alternative to groups like Sierra Club and Earth First! which are full of "eco-pigs" bent on "spreading panic and hysteria" about environmental threats. "We want people to be able to get under one umbrella organization to fight the eco-freaks and the Nature Nazis," he continued. "Everything we do — including the name Sahara Club is designed for maximum irritation."<sup>14</sup>

10. Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 368; quoting from Alfred Lopez, *Dona Licha's Island* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), p. 146.

11. Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

12. Karen Pickett, "FBI Targets Earth First!" *Anderson Valley Advertiser* (Booneville, California), July 3, 1991, p. 8.

13. Pickett, *ibid.*

14. "Sahara Club Targets 'Eco-Freaks'," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Associated Press, December 12, 1990, p. B4.



Not much is known about this small group of burly bikers which claims 4,000 members. Their political debut was a direct action campaign launched against Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Cal.) for his Desert Protection bill which would prevent them from riding their motorcycles in the environmentally sensitive desert outside Los Angeles. They now appear intent on destroying Earth First!.

"They crashed [Earth First!er] Mark Davis's talk in California at a religious college," Bari told CAIB, "There were about 30 of them wearing normal clothes who suddenly stood up, removed their shirts to reveal matching black T-shirts with a picture of someone strangling an Earth First!er. They not only shouted Mark down but they pushed their way up onto the stage and took away his microphone."

The group's newsletter has grown more vicious as well as more sophisticated over time. Issue #2 contains a highly detailed schematic drawing of a semi-buried booby trap explosive described as "one example of a death trap from Earth First!... This deadly device is planted in the ground over a trail that bikes or ATVs use, and when the wheel makes contact, the shell is fired, shooting the charge up into the face of the rider." The newsletter contends that the illustration "is taken directly from an Earth First book on how to set traps to kill or maim dirt bikers. This is not a joke folks."

Indeed, no one is laughing. Earth First!, unable to get a copy of the manual at the Grenada Hills, California address listed in the newsletter, doubts that the publication exists. If it does, charges Bari, "it was obviously made up by them, not by us... that this diagram came out one month before I was bombed may be significant."

The Sahara Club newsletter supports Bari's contention that the Club promoted harassment. During Redwood Summer, the Club newsletter boasted that the group held dirty tricks workshops for local anti-environmentalists. "Whether they did or not," noted Bari, "dirty tricks started to happen to us shortly after these guys arrived on the scene." On August 30, 1990, for example, alleged Sahara Clubber Timothy Harold Haynes delivered a bundle of his organization's newsletters to an Earth First! office in Arcata, California. He or someone had wrapped the package in duct tape so that it appeared to be a bomb. He was later arrested and convicted of a misdemeanor count for "placing a facsimile bomb."

## Greenpeace

In an act of state-sponsored terrorism, in July 1985, French intelligence agents in New Zealand bombed the Greenpeace ship, *Rainbow Warrior*, killing photographer Fernando Pereira. Since then, Greenpeace has grown stronger and is now involved in nonviolent environmental actions around the globe. Its opposition has responded with violence and harassment.

In March 1991, Pat Costner, a research scientist working with Greenpeace, returned home to find her office and rural home burned to the ground. More than 20 years research on toxic waste and, ironically, incineration, was destroyed in the fire which local officials classified as an accident. Greenpeace, however, hired investigators who found evidence of arson and plans to offer a reward for the arrest and conviction of the arsonist.

Harassment campaigns against the organization are becoming increasingly sophisticated as Greenpeace's effectiveness and influence threaten vested interests. Using the same techniques which resulted in media portrayal of Earth First! as "Eco-Terrorists," major corporations are devising secret strategies to marginalize and smear environmentalists.

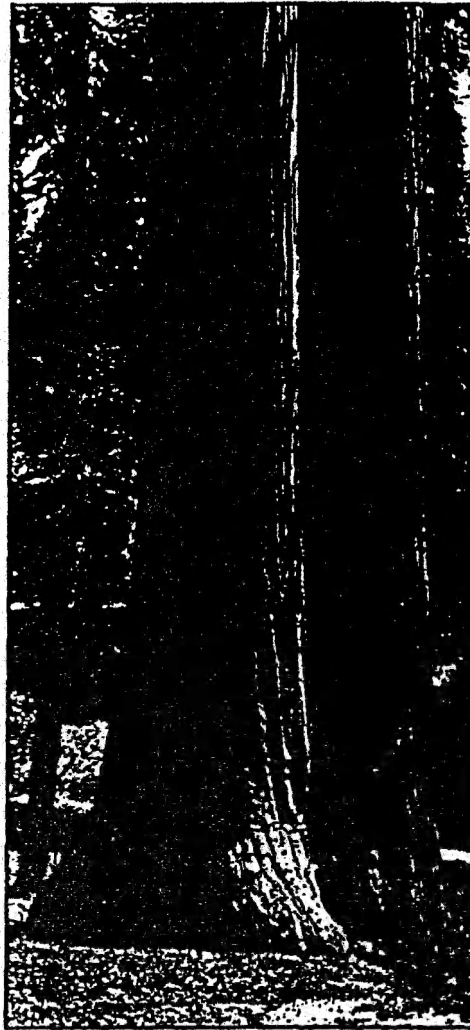
A confidential plan developed by the Pittsburgh-based Ketchum Public Relations firm for Clorox Corporation and leaked to Greenpeace reveals the siege mentality which has been observed at other corporations, private security conferences, and government agencies.<sup>15</sup> "Crisis Management Plan," a 60-page memo, advised how to counter "worst-case scenarios" for environmental issues "which hold potential for presenting a public relations crisis" for Clorox.

Ketchum prepared a strategy to greenwash its image, neutralize "green journalists" and counter Greenpeace's campaign against the toxic effects of chlorine.<sup>16</sup>

15. *Pensacola News Journal*, "PR Firm's Damage Control Plan for Bleach Company is Leaked," May 13, 1991, p. 2A.

Chip Berlet, an investigative journalist for Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts, reports that in conversations with participants at the American Society for Industrial Security (ASIS) conference in 1988, he detected a "troubling trend among a few hard-line outfits. Over breakfast a Navy security staffer said he had attended a naval intelligence briefing where Greenpeace was described as a 'terrorist' group with ties to 'international communist groups.' See also: Chip Berlet, "Taking Off the Gloves," *Greenpeace Magazine*, September/October 1990, p. 17.

16. *Greenpeace Magazine*, July/August 1991, p. 6.



An endangered old growth redwood.



## Clorox Leak Stains Corporate Image

- The Issue: Greenpeace has announced a worldwide effort to rid the world of chlorine by 1993 — Chlorine Free by '93, they call it. Greenpeace is well known, both for its dramatic campaigns, often associated with violent tactics, and with spurious research, generated more for its shock value and fund-raising appeal than its scientific utility.
- Industry Association (Chlorine Institute?) advertising campaign: "Stop Environmental Terrorism."
- Conduct research to determine if and how a slander lawsuit against the columnist and/or Greenpeace could be effective.
- [Use] third party scientific spokespeople [who] are prepared to cast doubts on the methodology and finding of the reports [damaging to Clorox and still unwritten].
- Enlisting the support of the union and the national union leadership since jobs are at stake.

Excerpts: Ketchum Public Relations "Crisis Management Plan."

In an attempt to spin this embarrassing leak, Clorox told the press that it was "not involved in [the plan's] preparation, and [is] not acting on its recommendations. The consulting firm's language and overly descriptive analysis detracts from its central theme."

... apparently had no problem with the cen-

mental issues are being debated. Bill Walker, a Greenpeace public relations and media spokesperson, recently attended a convention of the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA). The title of the conference was "Our World in Transition" but Walker observed that after looking through the program it looked more like "How to Make Your Corporation Look Like a Friend to the Planet While Reaping Billions in the International Waste Trade."<sup>17</sup>

One workshop at the conference, "Building Public Support by Resolving Disputes Through Consensus," focused on how corporations should learn to neutralize activists and build relations with the locals. According to a participant:

"When you're dealing with a group of outside agitators — Greenpeace or somebody like that," remarked a participant, "they usually have a different agenda than the people in the community where you're trying to place

17. Bill Walker, "Green Like Me," *Greenpeace Magazine*, May/June 1991, p. 9.

your facility. If you let them rant and rave and foam at the mouth, the community will sometimes get turned off and...then you can arrange a private meeting behind [the activists'] backs."

## The War on Eco-Terrorism: Who Drafted the Press?

Sometimes charges concocted against targeted groups are so wacky that it is hard to imagine anyone will take them seriously. "Ex"-CIA agent, Vincent Cannistraro<sup>18</sup> recently revealed to the press that he has "evidence" that a few "highly educated scientists" are secretly developing a virus that will kill all humans but leave all other species intact. He offered no proof of these "small organized clandestine cells" but assured the press that they constituted "potentially the most lethal of all terrorist movements."<sup>19</sup>

Newhouse News Service assigned a young reporter to research Cannistraro's theory. Jonathan Tilove spent three weeks talking to all kinds of environmentalists and was still unable to come up with any proof.<sup>20</sup> Tilove explained to *CAIB* that his article was written in an obviously ironic, tongue-in-cheek style which no one would take seriously.

Entitled "Mad Scientists Plot End of Mankind," the article went out on the *New York Times* syndicate to hundreds of papers around world. It was published on Sunday, April 14, 1991, weeks before the first anniversary of the Bari/Cherney bombing, by the *San Francisco Examiner*. Its Sunday edition is read by hundreds of thousands of people in northern California, an area where Earth First! is very active and where it is treated by many with suspicion, fear and violence.

Although Cannistraro's statements to the press did not name any environmental groups, Tilove's Newhouse News Service article printed in the *Examiner* mentioned Earth First! eight times.<sup>21</sup> The *Examiner* published the story as a serious news feature on page two along with a picture of Earth

18. Cannistraro was giving a paper on the many terrorist threats around the world at the inaugural meeting of the Counterterrorism Study Group. This body was convened by and is run out of the Washington office of the National Strategy Information Center, a right-wing think tank co-founded by William Casey in 1962.

Cannistraro is no ordinary spook. For one thing, he calls himself an environmentalist. He was also a career CIA operations officer who, until the Iran-contra scandal in 1986, was CIA Director William Casey's "man" at the National Security Council where he was detailed as Oliver North's assistant in charge of monitoring covert operations. He slipped through his testimony unscathed at the Iran-Contra hearings and moved back to CIA headquarters, where he was the head of counterterrorism until his early "retirement" in 1989.

19. Jonathan Tilove, "Tale of a plot to rid earth of humankind," *Newhouse News Service*, April 14, 1991 by *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A-2.

20. Zack Stentz, freelance writer from Santa Cruz, noted that: "La-Rouche followers have been especially active in the campaign against environmentalists through their group 'Stop Eco-Fascism,' who last year distributed a videotape that juxtaposed shots of Earth First! demonstrations with Nazi rallies." *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, June 19, 1991, p. 12.

21. It should be noted that the *Examiner*, the Hearst flagship paper, has become decidedly more liberal since Will Hearst III took over a few years ago. Its excellent environmental reporter, Jane Kay, told *CAIB* that she had no involvement in the decision to run the "mad scientist" article.



In light of the violence directed against Earth First! in northern California, the publication of this article shocked a number of media analysts and environmentalists. An *ad hoc* group organized a protest outside the *Examiner's* office and forced a meeting. On April 23, Steven Cook, the senior editor who ran the "mad scientist" article, listened to representatives from Earth First!, Greenpeace, *Earth Island Journal*, and *Propaganda Review*. He admitted that he hadn't given much thought to the article. It was, he thought, "an interesting look at the subject of population control."

Eventually, he apologized and promised to give more thought to future articles about environmental groups. Judi Bari, outraged by the "mad scientist" article, wrote an op-ed which the *Examiner* printed the following Sunday challenging Tilove's lack of documentation. The best the author of the article can come up with, Bari charged, "is an anonymous letter-to-the-editor from a 1984 *Earth First! Journal*, carefully excerpted for maximum shock value."<sup>22</sup>

Bari was skeptical that a reporter in Washington, D.C. would have waded through 10 years of *Earth First! Journals'* letters to the editor<sup>23</sup> just to find this one letter. As it turned out, Tilove saved himself the legwork and got the letter from a paper on "eco-terrorism," written for the Heritage Foundation by Doug Bandow, an analyst for the Cato Institute.<sup>24</sup>

## "We want...one umbrella organization to fight the eco-freaks and the Nature Nazis."

Rick Sieman, Sahara Club Founder

### Looking Back, Moving Forward

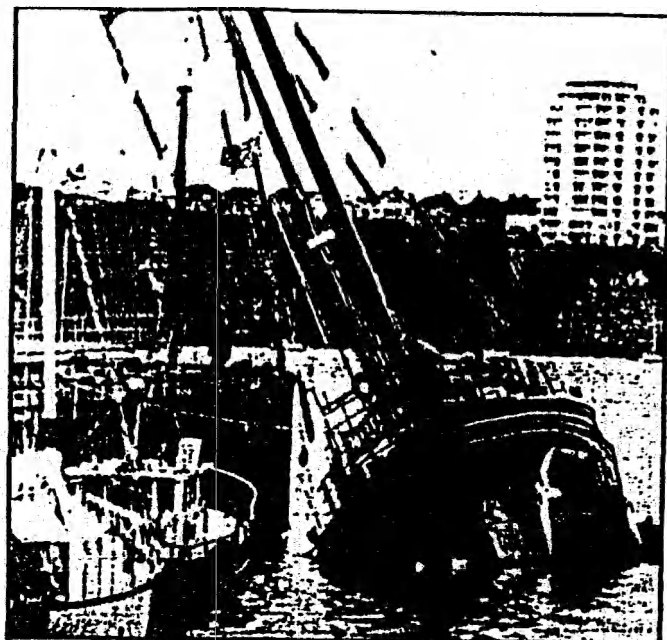
The environmental future of our planet is looking worse each day. Given the obvious fact that all other social movements will be meaningless if the earth is uninhabitable, the radical environmental groups may well be at the forefront of political and social change. The effectiveness of the environmental movement, said Greenpeace attorney John Carmer, "can be measured not only by the documented attacks, but also the fact that the movement is growing every day."

22. Judi Bari, "Tabloid Attack on Earth First!," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 21, 1991, p. A19.

23. The letters to the editor feature of the *Earth First! Journal* is discreetly titled "Dear Sir/I am writing..."

24. According to Zack Stentz, "Disinformation Epidemic," *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, June 19, 1991, p. D3. Stentz, a former FBI agent, was not alone in seeing disinformation in the past. In 1970, *Wall Street Journal* editor Barab included among the crimes of "eco-terrorism" the bombing of sawmills and the stringing of piano wire to disfigure motorists. "The sawmill bomb he's talking about was planted by the same person who tried to kill me," said Bari, "and the only people who claim to have seen this piano wire are Sahara Clubbers." See Zack Stentz, "Disinformation Epidemic," *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, June 19, 1991, p. D3.

25. Interview with author, August 8, 1991.



The Greenpeace Rainbow Warrior was sunk by French Intelligence agents in New Zealand in 1985, killing one person.

In the 1960s, activists had no idea how extensively the FBI, the CIA and the military were infiltrating and harassing their organizations. The daring investigative work of progressive journalists, researchers and activists in the 1970s revealed the scope and horror of those massive espionage operations aimed at wiping out the challenges to authority that characterized a broad spectrum of U.S. society in the 1960s.

In the 1990s, said Earth First!er Chris Manes, "The government is treating [environmentalists] like terrorists although no person has ever been hurt by an Earth First! action."<sup>26</sup>

Given the potential economic and political impact of an effective movement, it is only reasonable to anticipate a strong, organized and even violent reaction from those interests which profit from the status quo. The reason why corporations are greenwashing their images, the reason why we have an environmental president, and the reason why Judi Bari said she was "attacked" by the environmental movement.

While we see that many radical environmentalists advocate profound changes in our polluting, wasteful, consumer society, they are not terrorists and there is no evidence that anyone is plotting such absurdity as wiping out humanity. When the press repeats this type of bizarre and undocumented information, it feeds the myth that groups like Earth First! and Greenpeace are a secret agenda of terrorist and total destruction of the American way of life.

Evidence of government reactions is mounting. We need to deal with the repression of our movement, Carmer warned, "but we should not dwell on it."